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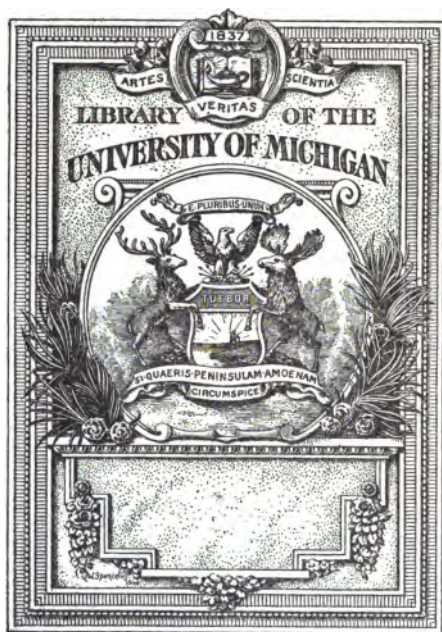
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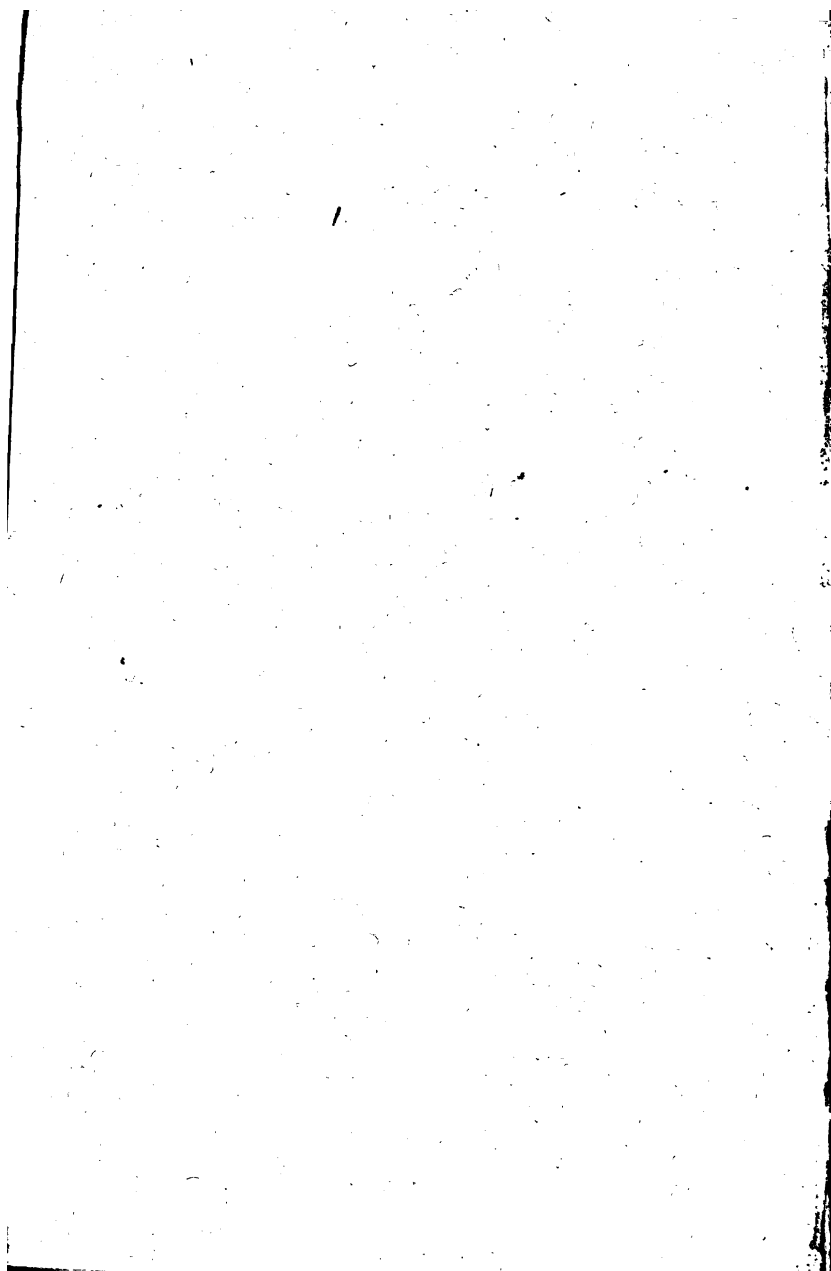
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Training for Citizenship

How to Teach Civics

BY
DR. B. A. HINSDALE



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Educational Publishers
NEW YORK CHICAGO BOSTON

Studies In Education


SCIENCE  ART
HISTORY 

By R. A. HINDSDALE, Ph.D. LL.D.

Professor
of the Science and the Art of Teaching
in the University of Michigan

Cloth, 384 pages

Mailing Price, \$1.00

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WERNER SCHOOL BOOK COMPANY
Educational Publishers.

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

SUGGESTIONS
ON TEACHING CIVICS

Burke BY
B. A. HINSDALE, Ph.D., LL.D.

Professor of the Science and the Art of Teaching in the
University of Michigan; Author of "The American
Government," Editor of the "State Govern-
ment Series," etc., etc.



CHICAGO NEW YORK
WERNER SCHOOL BOOK COMPANY

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Training for Citizenship.

INTRODUCTION.

HOW TO USE "THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT."

IN order to teach the subject of "Civics," or "Civil Government" in the schools, so as to make it interesting and valuable to the learner, a suitable text-book in the hands of the students is a recognized necessity.

"The American Government" was written primarily as a class-book for colleges, normal schools, and high schools, and the chorus of praise with which it has been received, and its constantly growing use, shows that the Author well understood the needs of all these classes of teachers. The book is divided into three parts, which deal with the Formation or Making of the Government, the National Government, and the State Governments. These, together with the Bibliographies, Appendix of Documents, Indexes, and Questions, constitute a volume of 494 pp. There is not now another class-book on the subject before the public, or a book of the same size of any kind, that contains an equal amount of valuable information regarding the government and political history of the United States. Moreover, this information is so presented as to make the book a model in respect to arrangement and style. The Author has, in fact, accomplished that very difficult thing—written two books in one. How this is will be explained.

**I. TWO KINDS OF TYPE ARE USED THROUGH-
OUT.**

A general but complete view of the subject of a chapter is first presented in the larger type, and then additional matter is added by way of expansion and illustration in the smaller type. The result is a double view of the subject. The view presented in the larger type is complete but compendious, amply sufficient for some persons. The view presented in the two kinds of type together is not only complete but full and detailed, and adapted to the needs of those persons who have time and disposition to study the several subjects more thoroughly. Chapter I. is entitled "The Thirteen English Colonies Planted," and the ten topics in larger print, called "Right of Discovery," "First Division of North America," "London and Plymouth Companies," "Colonies Planted by Companies," "Colonies Planted by Proprietors," "Voluntary Colonies," "Agency of the Home Government," "Classes of Colonies," "Ideas of the English Colonists," and the "Rights of Englishmen" give a complete outline of the subject. These topics contain as much matter as many teachers will wish to use. But other teachers will wish to add the following topics, which are in the smaller print: "Virginia," "Maryland," the "Carolinas," "Georgia," the "Plymouth Company," "Plymouth," the "Plymouth Compact," "Massachusetts," "Connecticut," "Rhode Island," "New Hampshire," "New York," "New Jersey," "Pennsylvania," and "Delaware." What has been said about this chapter may be repeated in substance about nearly every chap-

ter in the book. In respect to its presentation of a double view of the subject, it is merely typical.

Some teachers may assign the larger print to their pupils as lessons to be prepared for recitation, and advise them or require them to read carefully the smaller print.

Or, again, the teacher may assign the larger print for lessons, and himself draw upon the smaller print for material to be used in the oral expansion of the subject.

II. CERTAIN SUBJECTS MAY BE OMITTED

WHOLLY,

If thought desirable, without marring the treatment of other subjects.

1. The "Introduction" deals with the leading conceptions of political science, and it may be carefully studied by the pupil, merely read by him, or omitted altogether, as circumstances may determine.

2. Some teachers teach the Making of the Government fully enough, as they think, as a part of the History of the United States. These can give slight attention or none to Part I.

3. Some teachers wish to teach the National Government with only incidental reference to the States. These will naturally make little use or no use of Part III.

4. Still others may wish to confine their attention to the organization and the working of the National Government. These will find in Part II., which contains 252 pages, the very best Manual of the Constitution that is now in use in American schools.

III. A PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION OF HOW TO
USE "THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT"
IN THE SCHOOL-ROOM.

A very capable teacher of Civics in a prominent high school gives the following realistic account of the way that she uses *The Government* in her work:

"As my classes were to have but four periods per week for eighteen weeks, and had used during the preceding term a United States History that was more than ordinarily complete on the governmental side, they began with page 141 and took to page 409, omitting pp. 306-368. In general I assign four and one-half pages of the coarse print for a lesson, unless it be a philosophical paragraph to be prepared for repetition, the teacher giving sub-head; fine print to be carefully read, except here and there an unusually important paragraph designated to be learned. I find it necessary to have many terms defined, and to insist that the definitions of technical terms be learned verbatim. The clauses of the Constitution are learned substantially but not verbatim, the teacher suggesting various devices of association of thought as memory props and reviewing the clauses frequently. Such devices as visits to the City Council, County Court, and talks to the class by lawyers, officials, ex-congressmen, etc., are quite available here.

"With regard to Part III., I have had each member of the class write an essay on such themes as, 'A Day with the Township Trustees,' 'Official Life of the County Commissioners,' 'Conduct of a Criminal Suit,' or 'History of

Bill No. —, ' choosing some law whose enactment involves all the steps. In Chapters LI. and LII., and other parts composed of a series of details, I have had the pupils (1) learn name, term, sum, or whatever it may be; (2) tell the number of States using each, and (3) tell into which group their own State falls, sometimes using the statutes to find out. On Fridays—the off day—I have read aloud the more concrete parts of President Harrison's articles in 'The Ladies' Home Journal,' or timely, appropriate articles in the magazines or papers."

TEACHING CIVICS.

The following articles were originally contributed to "The Ohio Educational Monthly." They have been collected and reproduced in the belief that they will prove of benefit to practical teachers of Civics into whose hands they may fall. They do not form a treatise, or aim at an extended treatment of the subject. They are composed of practical ideas, suggestions, illustrations, and hints, directed principally to teachers of the subject in the grammar grades and high schools. They have all been revised, and one has been considerably changed, some matter being omitted and other matter introduced.



B. A. Hurdall

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

of the Author of the

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

BURKE A. HINSDALE, Ph.D., LL.D., son of Albert and Clarinda E. Hinsdale, was born March 31, 1837, in Wadsworth, Ohio, and, like most of the successful educators of the country, commenced at the bottom round of the academic ladder. Professor Hinsdale began teaching in a District School in Summit county of his native State; afterwards he became Principal of an Academy, a College Professor, President of Hiram College from 1870 to 1882, Superintendent of Cleveland Public Schools from 1832 to 1886, and then Professor of the Science and the Art of Teaching in the University of Michigan in 1888, the duties of which office he continues to discharge with marked ability. Professor Hinsdale has had conferred upon him by Bethany and Williams Colleges the degree of A.M., by the Ohio State University the degree of Ph.D., and by the Ohio University the degree of LL.D. He is a member of the National Educational Association, the National Council of Education, of which last body he is president for the year, and of the Michigan State Teachers' Association and Schoolmasters' Club. Besides his own chosen field, he has also cultivated with much thoroughness parts of the field of American History; he is a member of the American Historical Association, the Historical and Archæological

Society of Ohio, and an honorary member of the Historical Society of Virginia, and has served as president of various educational and religious societies. For many years Professor Hinsdale carried on in Ohio a religious ministry in connection with his regular educational work, served as assistant or contributing editor to various periodicals, and has had a large experience as a lecturer on educational, religious, moral, political, literary, and other subjects. He has contributed extensively to the pamphlet literature of the country. Partial lists of Professor Hinsdale's historical articles and pamphlets may be found in the annual reports of the American Historical Association, especially for the year 1889. The best known books written by Professor Hinsdale are "Schools and Studies," "President Garfield and Education," "The Old Northwest," "The American Government," "How to Study and Teach History," "Studies in Education," and "Teaching the Language-Arts." He is the editor of the "State Series," and joint author of the "Ohio." Professor Hinsdale edited President Garfield's works, two volumes. President Angell has endorsed "The Old Northwest" as one of the most useful, exhaustive, and scholarly works upon the subject ever given to the public; and Judge T. M. Cooley "The American Government," as very carefully prepared by one who is master of the subject. Professor Moses Coit Tyler expresses himself as being the debtor to the author of "How to Study and Teach History" in a high degree. All of the works mentioned have been strongly commended by the most competent authorities.

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP.

I.

WHY TEACH CIVICS IN THE SCHOOLS?

Civics, Civil Government, the Science of Government, and the Science of Politics are names that mean very much the same thing. They are names of a study that has come to hold a prominent place in the schools. The fact is unquestioned, and it raises at once the inquiry by what arguments this prominence can be justified. What is the educational value of Civics? The question is important to boards of education and superintendents, who make courses of study, and not less so to teachers, who are called upon to teach the subject. In fact teachers, of all persons in the world, should be interested in educational values; for unless they understand the uses of the studies that they teach, how can they be sure that they are teaching them as they should be taught? Dr. Arnold put the case rightly when he said: "It is clear that in whatever it is our duty to act, those matters also it is our

duty to study." I propose, therefore, in this article to state briefly the principal functions of Civics as a study.

The first fact to be urged is one that well accords with the American genius. Civics is a practical study. Government is one of the greatest of human arts, as it is one of the first of human necessities. Man is a social being by nature, and society implies government. Government is very simple in the low forms of society, but it is complex in the high forms. For example, the old-fashioned mode of adjusting differences between nations was war; but England and the United States are now engaged in discussing a treaty with a view to settling certain future controversies without fighting. The old method is simple, the new one complex. Still more, the higher the form of society, the more intricate and delicate the government becomes, and the larger the citizen's interest in it. He has much more to gain from good government, and much more to lose from bad government. And these are excellent reasons why the citizen, man or woman, should be well instructed in the principles and methods of government, and, especially, of his own government.

The argument is all the stronger in a republic like our own. Not only has every citizen an interest in the government as living under it, but he has an interest in it as one who is called upon to assist in carrying it on. In the largest sense of the word, he is a member of the government, and, therefore, needs to understand it. The language before quoted from Dr. Arnold applies to him with special force. While this is particularly true of the voter, it is true in some degree of the non-voter, for non-voters help to make public opinion and they more or less influence the action of voters. This applies with full force to women. In three States women of prescribed qualifications are voters the same as men; in many other States they vote on special questions, as the election of school officers; while in all States they contribute indirectly to carrying on the government and to the creation of public opinion. The golden words of Washington can hardly be too often quoted. "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." And in respect to no matter is it more important that public opinion should be enlightened than

in respect to the structure and operation of the government itself. Moreover, women comprise a majority of the teachers in the public schools.

The second fact to be considered is that Civics is a study of great disciplinary value. Government is a science as well as an art; it has not only its machinery and its methods, but also its principles and theories; and both as a science and as an art it exercises, in an eminent degree, and so develops, some of the noblest faculties of the mind. Government and history are closely affiliated. History finds its most prominent topic in government, while government is unintelligible without history. Practical politics is a sort of applied history. Accordingly, much of the advantage that may be claimed for the study of history may be claimed for the study of government as well.

Comenius, the Slavic educational reformer, contended that every kind of education has its beginning in the school of the mother's lap, which embraces the first six years of child life. "The political knowledge needful for these first years is indeed but little. . . . For it will be

sufficient, if they [children] be accustomed to the rudiments of political intercourse. Comprehending little by little whom they ought to obey, whom to venerate, whom to respect, . . . as rational conversation may arise with the father, the mother, or the family. For example, when any one calls them to remember that they are bound to stand still and learn what is desired; also to reply gracefully to questions," etc. Here are the beginnings of political as well as moral education. The practical training in citizenship, and the theoretical training also, begins in the practical commerce of the child with his fellows who are older. Here I shall venture to quote three or four paragraphs that I have published in another place.

At first man is thoroughly individual and egotistical. The human baby is as selfish as the cub of the bear or the fox. He is one of the most exacting tyrants in the world. No matter at what cost, his wants must be supplied. Such is his primary nature. But this selfish creature is endowed with a higher, an ideal nature. At first he knows only rights, and these he greatly magnifies; but, progressively, he learns, what no mere animal can learn,

to curb his appetites, desires, and feelings, and to regard the rights, interests, and feelings of others. To promote this process, government exists. In other words, the human being is capable of learning his relations to the great social body of which he is a member. Mere individualism, mere egotism, is compelled to recognize the force and value of altruistic conviction and sentiment. And this lesson, save alone his relations to the Supreme Being, is the greatest lesson that man ever learns.

It is in the family, in personal contact with its members, that the child forms the habits of obedience and deference to others. It is here that he learns, in a rudimentary and experimental way, that he is part of a social whole. Here he acquires the ideas to which we give the names *obedience*, *authority*, *government*, and the like. His father (if we may unify the family government) is his first ruler, and the father's word his first law. Legislative, executive, and judicial functions are centered in a single person. These early habits and ideas are the foundations of the child's whole future education in government, both practical and theoretical. His future conception

of the governor, president, king, or emperor is developed on the basis of the idea of his father; his conception of society, on the basis of the idea of home; the conception of government by the state, on the basis of family government. Of course these early habits and ideas are expanded, strengthened, and adjusted to new centers.

While still young the child goes to school. This, on the governmental side, is but a repetition of the home. It is the doctrine of the law that the teacher takes the place of the parent: *in loco parentis*. The new jurisdiction may be narrower than the old one, but it is of the same kind. The education of the school reinforces the education of the home in respect to this all-important subject. The habits of obedience and deference are strengthened. The child's social world is enlarged. At first he thought, or rather felt, that he was alone in the world; then he learned that he must adjust himself to the family circle; now he discovers that he is a member of a still larger community, and that he must conduct himself accordingly. The ideas of authority obedience, law, etc., are expanded and clarified.

About the time that the child goes to school, he begins to take lessons in civil government. This also is developed on the basis of his previous home-training. It begins at the very door-step. The letter-carrier, the policeman, the justice of the peace, and the postmaster introduce him to the government of the outer world. Some or all of these officers he sees and knows, and others he hears about. The very mail wagon that rattles along the street teaches its lesson, and so do other symbols of authority that confront him. He attends an election, and hears about the caucus. As he grows older, the town council, the court of the local magistrate, and the constable or sheriff teach him the meaning of the three great branches of government. His ears as well as his eyes are open. Politics is the theme of much familiar conversation to which he listens. With all the rest, he reads the newspaper, and so enlarges his store of political information. Still other agencies contribute to the grand result. The church, public meetings, societies of various kinds, all teach the lessons of order and discipline.

Such, in general, are the steps by which the child makes his way out of

the world of isolation and selfishness into the world of social activity and light. Such is the character of his early education in morals and politics. Nor is it easy to overestimate these early lessons. To suppose that the child's political education begins when he first reads the Constitution of the United States, is like supposing that his moral education begins when he first follows the preacher's sermon.

Such are the child's fundamental political habits and ideas. Such are the schools, and such the processes, by which both habits and ideas are formed. But the work does not, or at least should not, stop with this unconscious tuition. In the school, the subject of government should be taken up reflectively, and be taught as a study under the direction of a competent teacher. It is work that is demanded by the most cogent practical and disciplinary reasons.

There is an additional reason why the Government of the United States should be taught in the schools. It is a very difficult subject. John Quincy Adams very correctly called this government "a complicated machine"; "it is an anom-

ally," said he, "in the history of the world. It is that which distinguishes us from all other nations, ancient and modern." This complexity and the consequent difficulty arise in part from the fact that our government is free. On this point the argument has not been better stated than by Daniel Webster, in one of his best passages:

"Nothing is more deceptive or more dangerous than the pretense of a desire to simplify government. The simplest governments are despotisms; the next simplest, limited monarchies; but all republics, all governments of law, must impose numerous limitations and qualifications of authority, and give many positive and many qualified rights. . . . Every free government is necessarily complicated, because all such governments establish restraints, as well on the power of government itself as on that of individuals. If we will abolish the distinction of branches, and have but one branch; if we will abolish jury trials and leave all to the judge; if we will then ordain that the legislator shall himself be that judge; and if we will place the executive power in the same hands, we may readily simplify government. We

may easily bring it to the simplest of all possible forms, a pure despotism. But a separation of departments, so far as practicable, and the preservation of clear lines of division between them, is the fundamental idea in the creation of all our constitutions; and, doubtless, the continuance of regulated liberty depends on the maintaining of these boundaries."

But this is not all, perhaps not even the larger part. Our government is not only free, but it is double. It is a combination of a republic and a federal state. The real Constitution of the United States is made up of the Constitution so-called and the Constitutions of the forty-five different States. The Constitution of Ohio is made up of its Constitution so-called and the Constitution of the United States. Every citizen lives under the General Assembly and Congress, the Governor and the President, the State judiciary and the National judiciary. He has two loyalties and two patriotisms. He is equally interested in what goes on at Washington, and in what goes on at the State capital. The "separation of departments" and the "preservation of clear lines of division between them," of which Mr. Webster speaks, hold in State as

well as in United States affairs. It is not surprising, therefore, that citizens of considerable intelligence are often confused by the distribution of political powers. The North and the South went to war because they could not agree as to the relations of the State and the Union. President Cleveland and Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, had a sharp correspondence on the question who should keep the peace in Chicago at the time of the great railroad riots in 1894. Probably there are persons in every community who think the taxes that they pay into the local treasury go, in part at least, to Washington. Then how complicated is our method of electing President and Vice-president. A woman of my acquaintance, when she heard that Mr. Hayes was elected President by one majority, rejoiced that William, her husband, had gone to the election, because he had saved the day. It was not so very strange that the man in the story tore off the names of the Presidential Electors from his ticket and threw them away, remarking that he only wanted to vote for General Grant. Just now we are having a striking illustration of the complexity of our electoral system. The Democratic party has nominated Mr. Bryan for Pres-

ident and Mr. Sewall for Vice-president; the Populist party, Mr. Bryan for President and Mr. Watson for Vice-president. The Democratic voters wish to elect Bryan and Sewall, the Populist voters Bryan and Watson; and the only way they can accomplish their separate ends is for the two parties, in the various States, to agree upon lists of electors all of whom will vote, if themselves elected, for Bryan, and some for Sewall and some for Watson as may be agreed upon. To adjust the matter taxes the ingenuity of experienced politicians. The situation grows out of our peculiar system of electing the President and Vice-president, taken in connection with a certain state of political facts. There could not be a better illustration of the remark that our government is a complicated machine.

II.

PARTY POLITICAL MACHINERY.

The first paper of this series dealt with the reasons why Civics should be taught in schools, and touched incidentally upon the difficulty involved in teaching the subject that grows out of the complex character of our political institutions. This paper will deal with the subject

named above, and will also touch one of the serious difficulties that confront the teacher of Civics.

Politics is concerned with government, and is both a science and an art. Politics again is the subject matter of Civics. As a science, politics is occupied with the underlying facts and principles of government. As an art, it is occupied with the rules and methods of government, and especially with their application to practice. The fundamental ideas relating to government are scientific knowledge; the actual organization of political power and its delegation to the different parts of a government, are practical questions, and so belong to the other sphere. But, more than this, no government, whatever its name or nature, will keep itself going. No political perpetual motion has ever been invented, or ever will be invented. Force must constantly be applied to it from without, and this force comes either directly or indirectly from the nation or people. This is pre-eminently true in all countries where political thought, speech, and action are free. Here the connection between the people and the government is immediate; the

power is directly and continuously applied, perhaps not very intelligently or wisely, but still applied. To make this application, political parties are employed, and every person well read in history, or intelligent in current affairs, knows how great a part such parties play in practical politics. A whole volume of facts could be gathered showing the tremendous influence of political parties on the administration of government in the United States. Perhaps the most striking of these facts is the one set forth in Chapter XXX. of *THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT*, viz.: That the development of political parties forced, at the beginning of this century, an important amendment (XII.) into our National Constitution, and has since rendered completely ineffectual and nugatory the method of electing the President and Vice-President, so far as the intent or spirit of that method is concerned. It is no exaggeration to say that party politics has effected the abolition of the Constitution in respect to one of its most characteristic features.

The growth of our political parties has been attended by the growth of a remarkable system of party machinery. This machinery is an organization of appli-

ances by means of which parties reach their ends. It is, strictly speaking, no part of our constitutions and laws, but it is, nevertheless, the means by which the constitutions and laws are actually made to work.

Once more, in teaching Civics it is not enough to give attention to our political institutions as they exist in books of history and legislation; the system of agents by means of which our legal institutions are made to reach their ends should also receive attention. In fact, the principal features of our party machinery are "institutions" in a very real and practical sense; they are a part of that unwritten or customary constitution and law which is sometimes more powerful than the constitution and law so-called. Much of the great value of Professor Bryce's well-known work, "The American Commonwealth," is found in the fact that he has gone outside of our written constitutions and laws to deal with our practical politics. For the reasons now given, instruction in Civics should embrace a general account of our political party machinery.

In all countries where men are free to think, speak, and act on questions of

government, there will arise differences of political opinion. Some men will desire to have the government carried on in one way, some in another way; and they will all wish to see their favorite ideas carried into practical effect. As separate individuals, men can exert little influence upon public affairs. Accordingly, those who agree in what they consider leading questions learn to act together. In other words, they form a political party, which may be defined as *a body of citizens who agree in what they consider the essentials of political faith, organized for political action*. Concert and organization are as necessary to efficiency in politics as in other spheres of activity.

Now, the only way in which parties can give their political principles practical effect, is to secure the election of men to the important public offices who believe in those principles, and who, if elected, will carry them out. But to secure the selection of such men, those citizens who think alike must act together; they must vote for the same candidates for the several offices, or they will lose all their strength. Hence an understanding or agreement must be reached as to candidates. It may be said, in general, that

political parties exist, primarily, to secure the election, and so the nomination, of suitable men to office. It is therefore necessary that, before the elections provided for by laws are held, party nominations shall be made. In the United States, a system of nominating machinery has been devised with this end in view. This system involves two different modes of procedure, one direct and one indirect. When the direct mode is used, members of the party have an opportunity to vote immediately for the party candidate or candidates; when the indirect mode, one or more sets of representatives called delegates intervene between the voters and the candidates. The first end is gained through primary elections or primary meetings; the second one, through conventions. The whole system involves the primary meeting, the primary election, the caucus, county, district, State, and National conventions, delegate conventions and mass conventions, committees, officers, and rules, and political platforms. It extends from the frequent township or ward primary or caucus to the quadrennial conventions that nominate candidates for president and vice-president, and from the local committee

to the National committee. In no other country in the world can such a vast system of party machinery be found. It is a curious and interesting subject of study in itself.

. One striking proof of the growth of political parties in the country, and the tremendous influence they exert, is the fact that our legislatures have often found it necessary to recognize their existence by law. The State of Ohio, and perhaps other States also, has provided machinery whereby parties can, if they wish, subject the whole course of party nominations to legal regulation.

Another fact that is equally striking may be mentioned. In those States where the so-called Australian method of voting has been put in operation, the legislature has actually interfered with the voter's freedom of voting. Formerly the qualified voter could vote for whom he pleased, provided only he kept within the qualifications prescribed for office-holders, and his vote would be counted. He could cross off the names on his ticket and write in others, or he could print or write a ticket to suit himself, and it was nobody's business but his own. But under the new system this

can no longer be done. The voter can vote for any man for any office whose name is on the official ballot as a candidate for the office; he has his choice of all the tickets; but this is the extent of his liberty. If he writes in a new name, his vote will be thrown aside. The official ballot, furnished by the public authority, carries the names of the candidates who have been duly nominated by the recognized political parties, printed in an order that conforms to the law; but this ballot contains no other names, except that a new political party appearing on the scene may have its candidates put on the ballot if it presents to the proper authority a petition asking that such action be taken, signed by qualified voters equal in number to a minimum prescribed by law. These legal requirements, taken in connection with recent political developments, explain the difficulties that are now being encountered in the preparation of official ballots for the approaching election. The Democratic party has nominated for President and Vice-president Mr. Bryan and Mr. Sewall; a portion of the party, also claiming to be Democratic, has nominated Senator Palmer and General Buckner,

and the question has already arisen in some States which of these tickets is the real Democratic ticket. On the answer depends the order in which the two tickets shall be put on the official ballot, the right to the old party name, and even the necessity of resorting to petition in order to get one of the tickets on the ballot at all. Politics aside, the question is sometimes an intricate one, and in some instances the courts are being appealed to to settle party rights.

The legislation described in regard to nominations and voting is all of recent date. The movement of political events indicates that our legislatures will be compelled to go farther in the same direction.

What has been said suffices to show that no one can understand the working of our institutions, State and National, who studies merely the regulation books on Civil Government. These books pay little or no attention to that organization of political forces whereby these institutions are kept in motion. If a man studying a flouring mill were to confine his attention to the machines that make the flour, and were wholly to neglect the appliances whereby water or steam power

is applied to drive these machines, he would have about as good a knowledge of the flouring mill as the man would have of the way in which the American people are governed who should confine his attention to our written constitutions and laws and neglect party machinery.

The whole system of caucuses, conventions, and committees that has been described, like political parties themselves, is purely voluntary. Sometimes the law provides for holding primary elections, but men and parties are under no obligations to make use of the law. With the exception of this feature, which is purely optional, the whole system, from bottom to top, lies outside of our constitutions and laws. It is a machine that the political parties of the country have slowly evolved in order to give practical effect to their political principles. It reaches its end through nominations of candidates and declarations of political doctrine. It has taken, really, the whole lifetime of the Republic to produce the system, but the first National Conventions were held in 1832. The influence of this system on our government and whole political life it would not be easy to exaggerate,

III.

SOME DIFFICULTIES THAT APPEAR
IN TEACHING CIVICS.

Every study presents to the learner, and so to the teacher, difficulties that are more or less peculiar to itself. Perhaps this is especially true of Civics. I shall, therefore, in this paper deal with some of these difficulties. Two of the major ones have already been touched upon, but one of these requires further attention, while there are still others that have not been mentioned at all.

I. The subject of government when presented in formal lessons is marked by a certain abstractness. This fact tends to disappear as the individual enters more deeply into the affairs of the world; but it never wholly disappears from the common vision, while to the student of the subject in the school it is a formidable difficulty. The study of history, when it is made to consist merely of memorizing facts, is to the common pupil a dry and unprofitable study, and Civics is still more dry and unprofitable when taught in the same manner. There is little virtue in mere political documents or collections of political facts. There is something significant

in the reply that the boy made to the question, "What is the Constitution of the United States?" "The back part of the history that nobody reads." The book on Government must be connected with real life, and it is the business of the teacher to establish this connection. Three or four more definite suggestions may be found helpful.

1. The teacher should not permit any branch of the government to be made a mere skeleton. He should see to it, for example, that the executive is a man of flesh and blood, holding a certain official position and exercising certain political powers. To teach what the President may do is more concrete than to teach what the powers of the executive are.

2. The teacher should stimulate the pupil to study the political facts about him. He should encourage him to observe the machinery of political parties, the holding of elections, council meetings, courts of local magistrates, and the doings of the policeman, constable, and sheriff. This suggestion includes political meetings and conversations on political subjects. At this point a word of caution may be necessary. Our American atmosphere is charged with political interest

and spirit; and, while the pupil who takes a lively interest in current politics will, as a rule, do better work than the pupil who does not, the teacher must take care that a partisan spirit be not awakened, and that current events shall not interfere with the regular work of the school.

3. Pupils should be encouraged to read the newspapers for political among other reasons. The publications prepared particularly for school use to which the general name of "Current Events" may be given, are deserving of recommendation. This suggestion is particularly important in a democratic country like our own; to understand free government, you must be in touch with real political life.

II. The dual nature of our government has already been emphasized. This duality is confusing not merely to the foreigner, but also to the native. The subject of taxation as related to this duality will be dealt with farther on; here it should be said, and emphasized, that the teacher needs to have his eye upon this feature almost constantly, so as to make sure that pupils comprehend not merely the fact of the duality, but also see, in general, where the line separating the

State sphere from the National sphere is drawn. The boundary on which the two spheres meet is sometimes difficult to follow. Thus, the mail carrier is an officer of the United States, and enjoys its immediate protection both in the postoffice and on his beat; the letters and other mail matter that he carries in his pouch or holds in his hands is under the guardianship of the National Government; but the moment that these letters are deposited in the box beside the citizen's door, or handed to him at the gateway, the responsibility of the National authority ceases, and from that time on the State jurisdiction is supreme. A man breaking into a store where a postoffice is kept, would be dealt with by two wholly distinct sets of officers according as he should steal the mail in the office or the goods on the shelves and in the boxes.

III. The different branches of government, State or National, present to the pupil quite unequal difficulties. He will understand the legislative and executive branches much more readily than the judiciary. It is also more important that he should understand those departments; or, perhaps it would be better to say,

it is important that his understanding should be more thorough in those cases. These facts should have a decisive bearing upon the course to be pursued by the teacher. More stress should be laid upon the first two divisions of the subject than on the third one. The pupil should have no real difficulty in understanding what a court, a system of courts, or the jurisdiction of a court is. He should readily understand the relations of the court to the law, its relations to the legislature and executive, and how law suits arise in the affairs of life. He should easily master the organization and methods of a court, and the main facts of the judicial system. But for him to attempt to go into what may be called the niceties of the matter would be absurd. You may teach a pupil what concurrent jurisdiction is, and that the jurisdiction of the National and State courts is bounded, in general, by the State or National law; but to attempt to explain to him, even if he is as far on as the High School, the more intimate relations of the two systems of courts would be time wasted. *Ex post facto* he will understand, but it is not worth while to bother him with *corruption of blood* and *attainder*.

IV. A little more than one-half of the National Constitution, apart from the amendments, relates to Congress. It is interesting to note how fully the National legislature is treated, and how summarily the executive and the judiciary are disposed of. This is no accident. Legislative power, by its very nature, is capable of much closer definition than executive power or judicial power. On this point some remarks will be found in *THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT*, pages 290, 291. What is more, Congress is the most important branch of the government. Generally speaking, it can do much more than either of the other branches. Government begins with law-making, and this is the sphere of Congress. Congress should, therefore, be taught more fully than the two other departments. Still there are points on which it is not profitable to dwell. The general organization of the law-making power and its general functions are the great matters; that is, how it is made up and what it may do. Here peculiar attention may be drawn to section 8, Article 1, of the Constitution. The eighteen clauses introduced by the declaration, "Congress shall have power," are known

as the general powers of Congress. Together these causes constitute the motor force of the whole government. Cut them out of the Constitution, and you have a steamship without engines or boilers, helpless on the sea. There are no clauses in the Constitution that should be more carefully studied. The political campaign through which the country is now passing should direct particular attention to those clauses that relate to money and financial matters.

V. The Constitution confers upon Congress ample power to provide the government with a revenue. Revenue is the life-blood of government, and revenue in all civilized states means taxation. Accordingly, this subject should be dealt with carefully. National taxation and State taxation are often confounded, and it will hardly be possible for the teacher to explain the subject too clearly. These are the provisions of the Constitution in respect to National taxation:

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises," etc. Article 1, section 8, clause 1.

“Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers.” Article 1, section 2, clause 3.

“No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration.” Article 1, section 9, clause 4.

“No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.” Article 1, section 9, clause 5.

Tax is a general term meaning a regular pecuniary charge that a government makes upon the people for its own support. The term excludes irregular levies and forced loans. It includes the duties, imposts, and excises mentioned in the first of the above clauses. Again, the Constitution recognizes two kinds of taxes. Direct taxes, as defined by the Supreme Court, consist exclusively of capitation or poll taxes, taxes on land, and taxes on incomes, and they must be divided among the States according to their respective population. The Constitution seems to regard all other taxes as indirect, but does not call them by that name. They are styled *duties*, *imposts*, and *excises*—terms the precise

meaning of which cannot be clearly distinguished. Duties are customs levied on imported goods; imposts are sometimes duties, but commonly the word is used as synonymous with tax itself; while excises are internal taxes, such as the present taxes on whisky, malt liquors, and tobacco. It will be seen that the Constitution does not use the terms *direct* and *indirect* in the senses in which they are employed by political economists, for these call a tax direct when it is really paid by the person on whom it is assessed, indirect when it is added to the price of the commodity and is passed along by the importer or manufacturer to the retailer, who collects it of the customer in the form of an enhanced price.

Only two provisions relating to State taxation are found in the National Constitution, viz.:

“No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, etc.” Article 1, section 10, clause 2.

“No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage,” etc. Article 1, section 10, clause 3.

These are the only restrictions that the Nation has laid upon the State's taxing power, and outside of them the State regulates the matter for itself. As a result, the National taxing power and the State taxing power, to a great extent, coincide, or overlap. Congress taxes whisky, beer, and tobacco, and the State Legislature may do so if it pleases. At the same time, the two authorities generally seek to avoid double taxation as far as possible, lest property and industry be unduly burdened. The teacher will not find it superfluous to explain fully where, by whom, and how both National taxes and State taxes are levied and collected.

The great object of teaching Civics in the schools will be defeated, provided the instruction consists of mere abstract definitions and political facts. Nor will mere logical organization of the facts and definitions make them real to the student. The study should look to patriotism and the civic spirit; that is, love of country and a disposition to insist upon the rights and perform the duties that spring out of the citizen's relations to civil society and the state. These rights and duties are the ends of human government. That

distinguished publicist, Dr. Francis Lieber, was accustomed to say, "No right without its correlative duty, no duty without its correlative right." The highest aims of Civics, as a branch of education for the instruction of youth, are these ends, and the formation of a character that will maintain the one and perform the other.

Few subjects taught in schools make an equal demand with Civics upon the resources of the teachers. The study is related to many other studies, and enters deeply into practical life. Its connections with history are particularly close and important. Quick-minded pupils, especially boys, will ask perhaps more troublesome questions in the Civics class than in any other class that can be named. To meet this demand the teacher must read books and newspapers, observe the working of political machinery, and, above all, think things out clearly. He must have a large store of facts to draw upon for illustration. Some acquaintance with foreign governments is very desirable. It is probable that as much rubbish is taught under the name of Civics as under the name of any other study found in the schools.

Books of information relating to government abound; but not much has been written on the pedagogical aspects of Civics. A brief bibliography is appended.

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MEAD, E. D.: *The Old South Leaflets.* D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

NORDHOFF, CHARLES: *Politics for Young Americans.* Harper & Bros.

SPENCER, Herbert: *Education*, Chapter I: "What Knowledge is of Most Worth?"

Good pedagogical articles on Civics will be found in *Education*, Vol. VII., p. 164, "The Teaching of Civics in Schools;" p. 456, "Foundation Principles of Government;" p. 547, "A Primary Study in Government;" pp. 531, 617, "Methods of Instruction in Civics." See also *The Academy*, Vol. V., p. 373, "Teaching Civics."

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PART III.—The State Governments. 66 pages.

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INDEXES.—11 pages.

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"*The New York Sun*," in an elaborate and critical review of Hinsdale's "The American Government," calls it "An Indispensable Book," and adds: "'The American Government' is a book which ought to fill a conspicuous place in the curriculum of every university, every college, and every high school in the United States."

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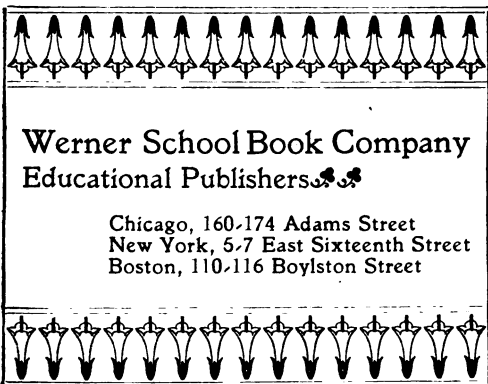
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